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London, NII.
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The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 69

London: October 9, 1937

2d.

Soldier of Peace

THE Hotel des Invalides, Paris, is reserved for badly wounded soldiers. Living there, however, is one whose fight has been for Humanity.

He is Professor Charles Vaillant, the radiologist. Last week he successfully underwent "the fourteenth operation which his devotion to the science of X-rays has cost him," to quote the Paris correspondent of The Times." The report adds:

He was one of the pioneers of X-ray treatment and began to be attacked 20 years ago, when little was known about the Power of the rays, by X-ray dermatitis, the terrible disease which slowly devours the flesh and muscles of those who continually expose themselves to the rays in the cause of science. He lost first his fingers, then his wrists, then his lower arms, but did not give up his work.

What Labour's 'Rearmament' Vote Means to **Pacifists**

THE Labour Party Conference on Thursday endorsed the "rearmament" policy laid down by the executive.

ment on the vote, and particularly on the powerful support for this policy coming from trade unionists, Mr. H. Ingli James, Chairman of the Christian Pacifist Party, said:—

"Pacifists are mistaken in assuming that the responsibility for the adoption of this policy rests with the trade unions alone.

The 'intellectuals' - Mr. Attlee, Mr. Greenwood, Dr. Dalton (who presided) have been as vehement as NEXT ELECTION CRITICAL any trade union leader in their prolestations that in an armed world Britain must be adequately armed."

It was, indeed, in his presidential address that Mr. Dalton said:

In this most grim situation . . . our country British Labour Government, coming into humiliations, intimidations, and acts of in-tervention in our national affairs.

Yet he himself showed that the policy he was advocating would fail to do what he wanted them for when he added that "arms, however powerful, and however necessary, bring ho solution."

Referring to what opposition there Mr. James said that much of it was Pacifist-though pacifists certainly Put up a strong resistance—but merely inconsistent. The left wing opposed rearmament" not because it was unssary but because it couldn't trust the Government with arms.

STOP CHINA WAR AT THE ROOT

Remove Causes and End Military Preparations Here

THE answer which pacifists are continuing to give to Japanese aggression -now needed all the more to counteract the suggestion that that aggression is not just war, as well as the accompanying campaign of hate—is twofold. It seeks to show that that war can only be effectively ended

1. By opposing war and war-preparation everywhere, especially at home; and

2. By understanding Japan's position and removing the causes of the war. What pacifists are doing about it is told particularly on page 5 of this issue. Below are two interviews throwing light on the causes of the war,

AWKWARD DILEMMA

Continuing, he said:

"The decision puts pacifists for whom pacifism is not merely an adjunct to their socialism, but its inspiration and its essence, in an awkward dilemma.

"It means that at the next election they must either refrain from voting or lend their support to a policy that may lead this country into war and that certainly will not further the interests of peace.

"In its present temper, few pacifist candidates will be endorsed by Labour Party headquarters. With very few exceptions Labour candidates support the official policy of the party and we assent to that policy in voting for them.

What It's About

"WHAT is all the trouble about in China?

are Japan's grievances?" Asked this question by PEACE NEWS,

Wilfred Wellock replied: -The short answer is that Japan desires to monopolize China's vast market, and to that end to control the country. That market is one of the world's biggest economic poten-

tialities. population approaches China's 500,000,000, while the fact that she is just awakening to what the West calls civilization reveals immense economic and financial possibilities,

Wilfred

Wellock

Powers compelled Japan to withdraw her 21 demands But Japan has never given up her designs upon China. Indeed, events

since 1919, viz: 1. The spread of economic nationalism and the closing-in of the big Empires;

2. The shutting out of Asiatics from the U.S.A.; and

3. The spread of communism in the Far East have strengthened those designs.

"What, then, is to be done?" we asked Mr. Wellock.

My conviction is that if mankind is to be spared a decade of unimaginable frightfulness, ending in its complete decimation, immediate steps must be taken to bring the era of imperialism to a close and to inaugurate an era of international economic cooperation.

A great crusade for that purpose should be started now.

Japanese imperialism is a reply to Western imperialism, for one monopoly begets another.

Let us, then, while protesting against what Japan has done and seeking to prevent any recurrence of such barbarities, acknowledge our share of China's way of thwarting Japan's blame for what is going on, and insist on getting down to the roots of the matter!

Demand that imperialism, with all its attendant evils shall pass ternational cooperation!

AGGRAVATED POVERTY

quest, whose revival constitutes the away and give place to an era of

Recalling her remark at the first Albert Hall meeting of the Peace Pledge Union, "It is the unhappy nations that make war," we asked Dr. A. Maude Royden to tell PEACE NEWS readers more about this cause of the war.

After declaring, "I really approve the boycotting of Japan"—adding, however, "I approve neither of the rebuking nor of the boycotting by itself, and have always linked the bombing either territorial claims. After the War the Allied of Ethiopia or of China with our own

-TUESDAY NEXT (Oct. 12)-

a Peace Pledge Union rally and mass meeting will be held in Queen's Hall, London, 8 p.m., "to protest against the indiscriminate bombing of open towns," but to associate the protest with opposition to "rearmament" in this country, and to dissociate it from the boycott of Japanese goods.

George Lansbury will preside, and other speakers will be Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, Miss Mary Gamble, Thomas Southall, Miss Rose Simpson, Dr. A. Herbert Gray, Laurence Housman, Eric Gill, Lord Ponsonby, Henry Carter, Rose Macaulay, Alex Wood.

"The situation is an appalling one. aware.

"There is a great body of pacifist conviction in the Labour movement and in the country. After the next critical election it will not be represented in Parliament; and there be no party to show the world that there are millions in Britain whose wer tomorrow, would be in danger of chief concern is for conciliation, understanding, and peace.

"Mankind will go on arming: thousands who pack our pacifist meet-ings will decide that we have led them up the garden with soft words; and at last in desperation the world will take the fatal plunge.

"All this-unless we pacifists have the courage of our convictions, demonstrate that our pacifism means more to us than a political machine, and begin to organize politically with the single object of laying the foundations of an enduring peace.'

Next week we hope to publish George Lansbury's comment on the conference.

of which all the big Powers are fully

Japan's real grievance is that China persistently boycotts her goods, whereas that boycott is purpose of conquest.

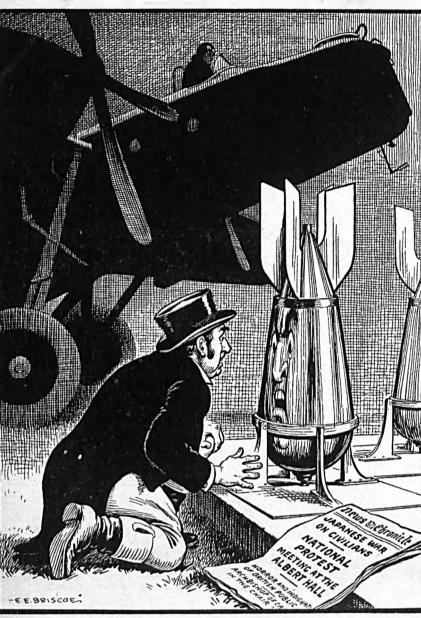
There we have the root of the whole matter, which, by the way, is part of the problem of imperial conissue in world politics today Japan, shut out of the world's chief markets by every device, looks for an outlet for her growing industrial output, in China.

At the outbreak of the Great War China was in the grip of a Consortium of bankers, behind whom stood big business interests Even before the War Japan and Russia had agreed to partition N. China.

The War completely changed the situation Japan, seizing her advantage, issued in 1915 her famous 21 demands to China, and nearly succeeded in acquiring complete control of the country. In 1917 Russia backed out of the War and later on ceded to China all her

Invited by PEACE NEWS to comleigh Gardens.

THE REFLECTION



"Man Makes a Death Which Nature Never Made"-Drawn by E. E. Briscoe

bombing in India, and Japan's imperialism with our own"—she said: 'Kagawa told me in 1928 that there

were 15,000 suicides in Japan every year.
"Miss Caroline McDonald, who

wrote A Gentleman in Prison, and who spent the greater part of her life in Japan, corroborated every word that Mr. Kagawa said about the frightful poverty of many of the Japanese

'She said that the hope they had of improving their condition by industrialization had been killed by the putting up of enormous tariffs against their goods.

The Japanese are not an emigrating people by nature. Necessity only has driven them out of Japan.

"Utterly regardless of their suffering, the nations have put up barriers against Japanese immigrants without making any attempt to meet or even to understand their difficulties.

'If they may neither sell their goods nor settle in other lands, what can they do? Grab. It is what we have all done and, in protesting against their imperial banditry, we must with shame reflect that we set the example.

Peace and—

Remembrance

DON'T forget the ceremony of peace and remembrance—Hyde Park, London, November 11specially planned for those who wish to separate the silence from the military ceremony.

In this connexion Sydney George Conbeer (113 Summerfield Crescent, Birmingham, 16) writes:

It is time that all those who hate war should give strong support to the white poppy scheme, in an attempt to attract people's eyes to the sufferings of those who resist war, so that it may be seen that pacifists have a great tradition to follow, far more worthy of being followed than the military tradition

The white poppy will show that there is another side to the question of war: namely, war resistance. Let us determine that beside the red poppy, symbolizing the sacrifice made in the name of war, there will be placed the white poppy, symbolizing the sacrifices of those who labour and suffer to prevent the ghastly carnage.

LORD PONSONBY comments on

THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

is a member of the P.P.U. has written to me saying that he is often confronted by left wing politicians with the argument: "we must be prepared to fight fascism." I also get that comment at meetings.

As I was saying last week, let us examine the exact meaning of the terms used. Fascism is supposed to be the extreme opposite to communism. But they both approve dictatorships and they both approve killing people who disagree with them. A dictatorship is always produced by violence and no dictator ever has a successor. But he would be likely to have one if an attempt were made to remove him by violence. The fascist, nazi, and communist systems of government do not appeal to us, although for diplomatic and political reasons our left wing would side with communism as against fascism or naziism. Fascism makes no headway in this country; and we owe a debt of gratitude to Sir Oswald Mosley for having demonstrated the futility of expecting the growth of that creed. But he certainly has increased the membership of the it from coming into power by force. communist party.

NOW what does "fight" mean? We need not get excited about 'fighting" our own declared fascists. But it is a pity that more people do not understand that the way to defeat them is to ignore them. Using violence against them, if it only be knuckledusters and chair legs, only helps to give them publicity.

But the questioners and correspondents are thinking of Hitler and Mussolini, although any probability of their attacking us seems to me very remote. Their possible acts of aggression are another matter, involving all sorts of international problems, and raising probably a complexity of problems which are impossible to foresee or prepare for.

At any rate to fight fascism in the world would mean immense war preparations far greater than those now contemplated, and consequently the death of democracy and our own conversion to the fascist doctrine of violence. Moreover in bombing their are simply victims of the system of government imposed on them.

BY warfare you do not kill the criminal, the culprit, the dictator or the government. They always

CORRESPONDENT who manage to retire to a safe spot. Even if we, what is called, "win" the war we shall not defeat fascism any more than we defeated German militarism. It was, too, by the opposition of violence that the Soviet government was estab-

Our explosives can destroy quite a large number of people but they cannot destroy an idea. Bad ideas can only be destroyed by better ideas taking their place. The range of a good idea is far greater than that of any gun or bomb. That is what makes military victory so sterile.

But, says our questioner, the victory of Franco in Spain would be a world calamity. Would it? Would Mosley's little crowd suddenly swell to vast numbers? Would France suddenly go fascist? I think not. Spain has had absolute monarchs, dictator generals, and clerical domination periodically throughout history with hardly a ripple reaching other countries from Spanish

BUT there are some who say that the present government are fascists in disguise and that they will suppress left opinion by force if it comes into power, or they will prevent

Now Tory reactionaries who adhere to a system of patronage, charity, and subservience (although they are by no means a majority of their own party) adopt far subtler methods than recourse to violence, which they have learned is a fatal boomerang. have insidious methods of undermining their opponents' position. See how in these days they diddle the Labour Party!

So it is not by arms, deadly as they have now become; it is not by devastation and massacre that they can be defeated. The idea that the Conservative Party, proved after a general election to be a minority in the country, will still be able to command the army and the civil service (even now honeycombed with socialists) is merely silly.

WE who detest dictatorships, we who trust in the further development of a democratic system, we who believe in the establishment of social justice under socialism, must towns we should have to massacre a know that these fine progressive ideas large number of innocent people who must win all along the line. But we must devote ourselves wholeheartedly to a great constructive effort for their achievement, and above all we must not allow ourselves to be deluded and misled into believing that force and violence even when it is falsely de-scribed as "defensive" is going to help

Socialism can only be established in times of real peace when the public mind is not distracted by wars a rumours of war. Those who rage against foreign fascism and in their anger imagine its existence here at home are doing an ill service to the great cause of establishing by consent and conviction a new social system for lifting suffering humanity on to a higher plane.

GLASGOW ELECTION HELPS ALL SCOTLAND!

GLASGOW University students are making a great effort to secure the election of Dick Sheppard as the next rector.

The city is being flooded with propaganda, a special paper has been published, and enthusiastic meetings are being held.

A great impetus to peace sentiment in the city-and in Scotland generally is expected as a result of the work put in in the rectorial campaign.

Mr. Andrew Stewart, secretary of the Glasgow University Pacifist Group, and organizer of the campaign, has also been assisting the temporary secretary (Mr. H. Nicholson) of the P.P.U. group formed last Saturday at a largely-attended meeting in Central Halls, Bath Street, Glasgow. The Rev. Ernest Foster, who recently helped to organize Glasgow City Peace Week, was appointed chairman.

The Dundee group is also getting active again since its recent reorganization.

Following meetings and a poster parade arranged for this week-endfor which Mr. Mackay, of Glasgow, one of the best pacifist speakers in the West of Scotland, was secured—they hope to get six small teams started to carry on their work.

Although so far North, Dundee was among the earliest groups to get started, and one of their assets is a very comprehensive pacifist library given by one of the members.

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AUSTRALIA

Campaign Against Conscription

MR. T. J. MILLER, of Victoria province, in Australia, has been carrying on an active campaign against conscription in that Commonwealth, because he fears this "encroachment upon democratic life." Various statesmen have appealed to the people to "take an interest in national affairs." Mr. Miller responded to this appeal.

First he wrote a letter to the Press, citing the advice of high officials that the public must get to work "if they desired to keep Australia free from dictatorship.'

He urged the Press and the people to fight conscription as part of military dictatorship. But the Press did not publish his

Thereupon Mr. Miller approached 44 Australian organizations asking them to declare their position on conscription. Of these, 22 were definitely opposed and 22 were non-committal.

LABOUR OPPOSITION

Among the opponents were churches, peace societies, labour unions, and the regional Labour opposed to conscription, secured ,430,000 votes out of a total of unprotected to the sky. 3,286,000.

Mr. Miller also made a test of Public opinion by asking—with the aid of volunteers—the opinion of 606 people on the street. Of these, 549 were definitely opposed to conscription, 48 were in favour, and nine were non-committal.

DUTCH PILOT'S WARNING OF A DANGER TO THE WORLD

OMMANDER A. VIRULY, famous pilot of the Royal Dutch Air Lines who refused last year to participate in the military exercises with which the civil air service is now identified, has just published in book form A Plea for an Air Service above all War mentality, for the honour of our Land.

In a review of the book published in Kerk en Vrede it is described as "a fine witness from Viruly, in the form

of an open letter to a young fellowcountryman about the future of

The latest news from China adds a note of terrible urgency to the message of this brave airman, who followed the dictates of his own conscience without knowing what the consequences would be.

"Man's conquest of the air," continues the review in Kerk en Vrede, "can be a service of unimagined greatness to him, in that it makes the world smaller; but it can also be a means of destroying civilization, a means literally absolute, in the hands of unprincipled States.

"If mankind is not prepared to use the new road of the air, inspired with the will to peace upon earth, then, says Viruly, the devil will most certainly use Parties. In the 1934 elections the that road, on which every man's house Labour and Communist Parties, both stands, every man's children play, and on which all that man is and has lies

"Bombardment from the air is

forwarded to the Australian Prime Minister and to the British Minister of Defence. Finally, Mr. Miller published these various letters, together with an appeal to all, as a small pamphlet which is being widely distri-All of this information was then buted.—Nofrontier News Service.

–Would Not— Do It

IN an exclusive message to PEACE NEWS shortly after it became known he had resigned as a reservist flying officer—all Dutch commercial pilots are required to hold such appointments - Commander Viruly said:

"I never could or would serve a national interest if this had to be through going and killing any guiltless men, thus denying a positive Christian principle, my most valuable experience of life, and my human sense of honour."

nothing better than international assassination.

"What shall the real use of this power be? Service to mankind, or destruction? Viruly pleads for a new national code that shall have nothing more to do with bloodshed, but will rather seek to serve the life of all **BELGIUM**

YOUTH HAS FEW ILLUSIONS!

WHAT is your opinion on: the fascist-communist feud; Russia; Spain; the next war?

These are among questions put to youth by the Brussels newspaper Le Rouge et le Noir. Readers of PEACE NEWS will be interested in the replies given by Jean Thiriart, secretary of the Ligue Scolaire Internationale pour la Paix—all of whose members are under twenty years of age-extracts from which are given below:

Fascism and communism: Youth must not sacrifice itself to one or the other of these sanguinary ideologies. It does not want to be the prize in a struggle between Stalin and Hitler.

Russia will have suffered from every social trouble in order to give birth to a dictatorial and sanguinary régime; land of degenerated communism; kingdom of capital executions; régime on which we placed all our hopes and which has profoundly deceived us.

Spain: Field of manœuvres for the armies of Russia, Italy, and Germany. Unhappy country! Whichever party triumphs, Spain will know the blackest of miseries for at least half a century and will come through the horrors of war to fall back into those of a dictatorship-whether it be black, brown, or red.

The next war is presented as a "war against fascism and for democracy.' But we don't wish to defend that "democracy" . . . where compulsory military service rules.

Peace can be defended with reason and not with a gun. Peace can be kept by the will of the peoples and not by the secret meetings of diplomats.

Danes

"G.L."

Like

NEWS FROM SCANDINAVIA

From a Special Correspondent

War Resisters Say "No!" to **Sanctions**

tions and collective "security" is now made clear in an addition to its statement of principles which was adopted by the recent international conference and is contained in a leaflet just published.

moval of all the causes of war."

To these three have been added of the League of Nations in the Covenant or to maintain collective security against a so-called aggressor State."

stitution of the W.R.I., the new leaslet gives a short summary of its history and work.

Copies can be supplied on application to the International at 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

HOLLAND

Children's Community

A "Children's Workshop Community" where, under the guidance of qualified adults, and in as great a free-Wars would seem to fall under dom as possible but ordered by inward four heads," it is pointed out. There discipline, children develop themselves according to their disposition and nature, was founded eleven years ago at Bilthoven, Holland.

> The community is now being extended and made international through the addition of boarding houses, where all teaching will be in English, French, German, Esperanto, Dutch, and perhaps Danish. The children will live in these in turn for about a year at a time.

"Thus, children will form contacts," Besides containing the declaration, relationships between the countries and community against a so-called comments The War Resister, "which are bound to have their effect in furthering the movement for friendly relationships between the countries and plaats, Bilthoven, Holland.

Idea from Sweden

Recruiting

pacifist organization (Svenska Fredsoch Skiljedomsföreningen) car- ment, two descendants of the Vikings ried out one of its most successful commented on the triennial conference recruiting campaigns for many years.

Klatt, of Helsingfors, one of Finland's foremost novelists, and at the same time ardent pacifist and brilliant

The Swedish organization arranged George Lansfor her to tour the whole of Sweden bury the domiand speak at over a hundred meetings held under its auspices, at all of the Conference. which many new converts were We who were obtained.

Cannot a similar scheme be carried out in this country? Pacifist problems explained in new ways and from new viewpoints by competent lecturers from other lands—what could be a more effective way of exposing the futility and stupidity of war?

the method of organization leads to a systematic development of the art of living together and the management of communal life without compulsion.'

AST autumn and winter the Swedish, IN a recent issue of Aldrig mere Krig, organ of the Danish pacifist moveof the War Resisters' International, Chief credit was due to Mrs. Ellen held this summer in Copenhagen. One of them said:

> "No-one will take it in bad part if I call nating figure of together with him for four days are certainly all agreed that we have never

met a finer personality than Lansbury's.

"We had looked forward to his visit to Denmark with the greatest expectations. Was a single one of us disappointed? I think not."

The other said "we can consider ourselves fortunate to have two such men as Ponsonby and Lansbury at the head of our movement."

THE position of the War Resisters' statement of principles, and con-International in regard to Sanc-

"War is a crime against humanity," says the statement. "We, therefore, are determined not to support any kind of war, and strive for the re-

To defend the State;

To preserve the existing order of society;

On behalf of the oppressed prole-

wars organized under the auspices hame of sanctions to defend the

Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By MAX PLOWMAN

96 Regent Street, W.1.

STOCKTAKING. I should like to think that every member of the P.P.U. was seriously engaged in the job. I know the autumn campaign has begun and I know that other people beside the crew at work up here have their hands more than full. But I also know that unless we pull ourselves up short from time to time, we begin to believe we are well employed if what we are doing is little more than turning the handle. That is good enough for some sorts of employment, but it is quite insufficient to the job every real pacifist has in hand. "New every morning is the grace" are the words of a hymn I seem to remember. Well, new every day is the nature of the task which the changing situation sets before the wide-awake pacifist. Things are not in the least the same as they were this time a year ago. If we are just doing much the same, we had better do a little stocktaking.

I speak for myself, and humbly in this matter. The holidays were not long enough for the essential stocktaking. Inadequacy is a haunting word. I confess to being perpetually haunted by the sense of personal inadequacy. The task is so huge, the opportunity so great. How many of us are making the best possible use of it? This enormous attendance at meetings, what does it mean but that people are really anxious to find the practical way to avoid war? Many of them are simple people. Upon us rests the responsibility of conveying the message of pacifism in terms which they can understand. Have we done all that we can in this respect? The essential examination of the problem of pacifism involves hard and often abstruse thinking. Can we now begin to translate that into simple terms so plain, honest, and unequivocating that he who runs may read?

For myself, I've been thinking about the nature of the P.P.U. and I offer you my conclusions so far. What has happened within the last two or three years is that a comparatively small body of consciousness has emerged out of the mass of confused and disenchanted thought caused by the War. This consciousness, which is pacifist, has grasped firmly certain fundamental principles and perceived the desperate necessity of those principles to the life of the times. The people who form this body of consciousness are very much other than was-and still issupposed. They are not vague ists, religious fanatics, moral per fectionists, renegade individualists, or even (as they appear to the Daily Mail) "egotistical poltroons." They are precisely that class of persons known to Marxist politicians as the intelligentsia of the proletariat. They are the conscious heart and mind of the inarticulate masses. They are the mouthpiece of the humble wage-earner throughout the land-that commonest of all men who has inherited a traditional and religious manner of social life which expresses itself in the philosophy of the saying "Live and let live." The pacifist is this man's consciousness:

The Notice Board

P.N. Sellers wanted for big meeting, City Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Oct. 13. Write Tom James, 74 Gill St., Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 4.

Monthly meeting of all Southampton pacifists will be held in Friends House, Ordnance Road, 8 p.m., first

Monday each month.

List of Regional Secretaries last week gave wrong address for Birmingham Area secretary, Rhoda T Smith. Correct address: "Ingl wood," Doe Bank, Sutton Coldfield. Correct address:

First group meeting for Salford will take place October 19 at home of group leader, A. Aston, 14 Dellcot Close, Salford, 6.

FROM B.M.A. TO P.P.U.

SHEFFIELD branch had the unusual experience on Thursday of last week, of hearing Dr. Nunan, who moved the resolution at the British Medical Association conference at Belfast in July asking the League of Nations to set up a section under its health organization to deal with all questions relating to the psychology of war.

War is barbarous, disastrous, he said, and in his view there were four main categories into which its causes could be divided;

1. The vanity or ambition of great leaders, coupled with hero-worship;

2. Dynastic wars;

3. Wars of territorial expansion and aggression; and

4. Wars brought about by industrial or commercial rivalry. He suggested the organized medical

profession, teachers, all voluntary bodies such as the P.P.U. should approach the League of Nations to allow their machinery to be made use of in this respect.

Mr. Herbert Caiger, who seconded Nunan's resolution at Belfast (which was passed by a large majority), said we were being called to do two things today: first, to get rid of war, and secondly, to conquer disease. Dealing with the psychological aspects of war, he contended that war is a criminal madness into which we allow ourselves to fall. Our lower animal motives are then at work and we act thoughtlessly, foolishly, unreasonably.

OTHER LOCAL ACTIVITY

At the open-air meeting which Sale held last week, Canon Morris gave them "a mighty time." It was their first open-air effort, and they were deservedly elated.

Two nights previously they had advertised the meeting and the P.P.U. with a poster parade. Despite real "Manchester" rain nearly thirty turned up, including a well-known local doctor, and during the weekend they sold fifty copies of PEACE NEWS—"it can't help selling!" comments the press secretary.

Dealing with the pacifist alternative to war, Canon Morris said:

"Even if you fight a war it will have to end round a conference table. There is no question as to whether you will have a peace conference or not—the only question is which may cost its followers all, when. Pacifists say 'For heaven's sake let's have it now'."

which may cost its followers all, but will give mankind peace abiding."

The chances of advancing one's ideals without a war were much greater than at a conference held after

Peace would never be established by bombing women and children-the essential feature of modern war by whomsoever waged. International cooperation and practical love—in terms of real understanding and help to poorer nations—these were the peaceful "weapons" making peace certain.

GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

Every day is an anniversary, and today sees me at the end of my first year at 96 Regent Street. I have only two regrets; that there are only 24 hours in a day and that however willing the human body it can never keep up with the spirit. But we are still young, and growing rapidly.

Preparations are nearly complete for the mass meeting on Tuesday, (October 12), in the Queen's Hall, London. It is so fatally easy to turn the genuine emotion of aroused by the bombing of civilians into a cry of "anti-Japanese" rather than "anti-War." Protest we must, but at the same time demand an end to the War itself. It is sheer hypocrisy to shout "boycott" while we and the others are building bombers to be used in the same deadly way. At the Queen's Hall we shall be supported by a very representative platform, with George Lansbury as chairman, and all groups should see that the meeting is as widely advertised as possible. It is essentially one for "yes-buts."

Glasgow is warming up for the election, and offers of help are coming in rapidly, so rapidly in fact that they become an embarrassment to the voluntary secretariat. If I were a betting man I should advise my friends to watch the dark horse Sheppard. Whatever else results Glasgow will be on the map as a group!

Dramatic and film shows are going be added to the innumerable activities undertaken by groups this winter. Already nearly every night between now and December is booked for our travelling cinema outfit. Films will be shown in halls, barns, cinemas, and churches. There must be the closest cooperation between regions and headquarters so that the operator may travel easily from one place to another. In the rush of early bookings, for instance, Manchester and St. Ives (Cornwall) were arranged for consecutive days!

Pacifist plays are being rehearsed in every part of the country, and be-fore long many groups will be running a small repertory company Now that we have made a list of suitable plays all information can be readily obtained by writing to R. H. Ward, 96 Regent Street, W.1.

Letchworth has begun its autumn campaign by booking the local cinema a combined film and lecture. Following up their successful appearance in the Letchworth carnival, they are rapidly adding to their numbers and the group is a leading factor in the life of the first garden city.

On October 23 Birmingham is holding its annual general meeting. All the local groups will be meeting to review their progress, which has been magnificent, and to plan large scale activities for the near future. I am looking forward to taking part in the conference with Nigel Spottiswoode. On Tuesday next the Hall Green and Shirley groups are combining for a public meeting in Hall Green Institute at 8 o'clock. Principal Robinson, of Overdale College, is the

logical crusade, the big adventure

Within three days two new groups have been started in the area of the North Hampshire Regional secretary, (Mr. C. W. Hope Gill). Last week Broughton, a village near Stockbridge, started a group after hearing from Mr. Hope Gill the aims and objects of the group activity of the movement. Mr. Turner, Brightside, Salisbury Road, Broughton, Stockbridge, was elected group leader.

At Farnham, Surrey, two days later, a second group was started when Mrs. "Pacifism is the newest and most agreed to become group leader."

UNDER THE OAK TREE

By BELLA HOOPER

(On behalf of the Basque Fund.)

MUCH has happened to the inmates of Basque House since the last column about them appeared in PEACE NEWS and the past fortnight has been a very busy one for every-

The first outstanding event was a garden party given by Dr. Ruth Bensusan Butt at her house in Colchester in aid of the children of Basque House. A very dull and showery day did nothing to diminish the number of guests, who arrived in gratifying force to hear the children sing and to see them act and dance. In fact, so many people came that it was impossible to seat them all at once in the large room where the entertainment was given, owing to the unfriendly skies, and the children had to give their performance twice—a fact which pleased rather than dismayed them. When the guests had gone, after what they all agreed was a very enjoyable time, the children had a sumptuous tea, and the party spirit was increased by paper blowers and a little gift for every child. A riotously happy crowd returned in numerous cars lent by kind friends, and the fortunate ones who had been out were eagerly greeted on their arrival home by those who had been left behind. Their turn came, however, for Dr. Bensusan Butt completed her good work by giving another party for those who did not attend the first one, and this time the children were blessed with a sunny day, so that they were able to enjoy the very beautiful garden of their hostess. They returned resplendent in paper hats, and all rapidly acquiring skill in the difficult art of playing with Yo-yos.

Another exciting event was a football match played on our own ground against members of the Colchester Boys' Brigade. It was a splendid match, resulting in a draw, and our children entertained the visitors with songs, dances, and sketches in the evening, followed by dancing in which the guests joined. We have heard since that the Colchester boys are eager to fix a date for a return match.

Since the Colchester Rotary Club has very kindly provided our children with shoes, we thought we should like to show our gratitude by inviting its members and those of the Inner Wheel to an entertainment at Basque House. Accordingly we prepared something on a more ambitious scale than we had hitherto attempted, and were amply rewarded by the enthusiastic appreciation of our visitors. One of the Spanish teachers, assisted by a willing squad of girls, made very beautiful dresses and shawls for the girls taking part, and the stage was made lovely with plants and flowers from the conservatory and garden. The whole house was polished for the occasion until it shone, and no-one spent an idle moment on the day of this very successful party.

In spite of these lighter activities the children's work is progressing very satisfactorily and they are daily learning more and more English, in addition to their ordinary Spanish lessons.

Our most sincere thanks to our friend in Manchester who sent some very pretty wool and knitting needles and a pair of shoes which promptly found a pair of feet to fit them.

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Japan: What Pacifists are Doing About It

PUBLIC DISGUST AT HYPOCRITICAL

HATE-MONGERING

Turn it to War-Renunciation

O strong is the pacifist argument that the "frightfulness" in China can but add weight to the case against war and the preparation for war by our own country that there is now

something like a determined effort to make out that Japan's action is cotting countries. Perhaps it is for this

Thus, the leader-writer of the Daily Telegraph says: "This raid by heavy bombers is not aerial warfare: it is Just promiscuous murder and massacre from the air."

Unfortunate words, in view of the description which Sir Charles Kingsford Smith gave (as reported in PEACE NEWS so recently as September 4) to the Great War itself:

Massacre, massacre, massacre. And for that I received honour and glory. That's war!

And he added that he got his M.C. for "plain, bloody murder"-for which the Japanese get protests.

ANSWER TO PROPAGANDA

But people do not realize that "that's war," despite Baldwin's famous reminder that to win a war you have to kill more of the enemy's women and children and more quickly than they can kill yours.

So pacifists are showing people that the terrible news from China should stimulate them to renounce war altogether and see that their own country does not prepare to do

Too many use it to produce an alarming hatred of the Japanese people, and this mood is affecting those who naturally hate the methods of the war, so that their protests and suggestions for action are, to say the least, houghtless. Indeed, the suggestion in last week's PEACE NEWS that the trend of popular feeling, which we are trying to check, will lead to doing "not the same thing as Japan is to be stopped doing but the same thing suffi-ciently multiplied to 'impress' even Japan" was by no means an exaggeration. Before those words were read this amazing confirmation of them appeared in a letter in the Daily

The only solution I see is for all peace loving nations to combine and threaten Japan with military action—an international air

But the main demand on which Public opinion is concentrating at the the substance was as follows: the moment is for a boycott of Japan, and support for this has come in resolutions and statements from the

National Peace Council; League of Nations Union, executive committee; Council of Action; Labour Party Comercial, South Wales Miners' Federation; the Labour leaders; and numerous local organizations, as well as organizations in other countries.

It is claimed that such action would have an incalculable effect in stemming the tide of barbarism." But to make a poor country poorer is merely to intensify the very cause of the war, so that if the war were not actually hastened it would simply be postponed.

Another effect Japan has already business from boycotting to non-boy- hope to print showing that pacifists College, London, October 22-24.

reason that "responsible Government circles" in Britain disapprove of the agitation.

PACIFIST CASE AGAINST

But the reason which pacifists are stressing, in addition to these very practical considerations, concerns the moral effect of trying to "stem the tide of barbarism" in another country while neglecting to stem the drift toward barbarism represented by our own arms programme, which would create a much deeper impression on Japan than mere punitive action.

Especially is this the case in view of our past record, cited in the following extract from a letter:

In a letter published in The Times of today the writer alludes to the continuation of the blockade of Germany for eight months after the Armistice. To us who were members of the Military Commission of Control for four years, from January, 1920, onward, it was most painful, in view of the widespread evidence of real distress in Germany, to be asked, "Why did England go on starving our women and children long after the Armis-tice?" . . . It was such an un-British action that one simply had no answer.—D. C. Spencer Smith, *The Times* (October 1).

Nor is it merely what we have done in the past, but what we are bound to do in any future war that makes it hypocritical for us to condemn Japan.

If [the writer of a previous letter] tells me that England would never use her bombers to bomb towns full of non-combatants [writes Mr. M. W. Briar to last Friday's Daily Telegraph], then I must ask him to join with me in a campaign to sack the leaders of the Air Force, since we cannot expect to 'win" wars in any other way.

The fact that these are only examples of innumerable people, who, as shown by the Press cuttings sent to this office, are uneasy about the hate-mongering, even if they are not yet prepared to renounce all war, is one of the rays of hope in the present situation.

On the other hand, some newspapers are deliberately boycotting the pacifist them showing considerable originality. case. Such was the fate of, among others, a letter from the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier, hon. secretary of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, of which

Who helped to build up Japanese military forces? Whose money started the process and financed the armament makers? And

What is more, no matter how much we may regret the fact, we shall do exactly the same thing, in this mythical war for freedom's sake that has almost become inevitable. Otherwise why build two bombers to every interceptor?

Cannot the Christian conscience all over the world rise up in the sternest denunciation of all that war means and all that war pre paration involves?

While our contemporaries are receiving shoals of letters of protest against Japan, we too are receiving many anticipated by taking steps to transfer more messages than we can ever

are giving their answer to Japanese aggression.

Here are but a few points from them (with apologies-but thanks and congratulations-to the others), and may they help pacifists everywhere to use this opportunity to win over many more from support of the war method:-

Is it not only logical to expect that any nation which believes in the principle of war (whether it be to hold what they have gained by force, or to protect a weak nation) will wage war when it comes as ruthlessly as the means at their disposal will let them?

The most terrible and disgusting things it is possible to imagine take place during a war; but let us remember that those on the "winning" side must behave more brutally and be more barbarous than the "losers."—
A. FOSTER, St. John's C. of E. School, New North Road, Hoxton, N.I.

Let us beware of hypocrisy but rather get down to the root of the matter: this is the psychological minute at which to call a world conference to deal with the economic problems of the dissatisfied Powers which are at the bottom of all the troubles.—(Mrs.) E. BEATRICE PETTY, Feering Croft, Stan-

(Tottenham Peace Council passed resolu-tions at its last meeting which, while "viewing with horror the bombing of the civilian population in China," urged the Government "to call for a world economic conference and to make some offer to help those countries in economic need in order to show the real good will of this country.)

I see by the paper that "Bristol" Bombers are being exported to Turkey.

Standing on Bedford Embankment [Bristol] there is a war trophy bearing a plate: "Presented to the Town of Bedford by the 1/5 Batt. Bedfordshire Regiment. This gun was taken by the Battalion at Gaza, 1918." On the loading end of this gun there is a plate: "Sir W. G. Armstrong Whitworth and Co. Ltd. 4.724 inch. G.F. No. 12673."

Can a nation which permits this kind of trading make any effective protest against the bombing of women and children?—LESLIE O. BROWN, 34 Egerton Road, Bishopston,

Children's Peace Posters

Jean Inebnit, secretary in Britain of the International Voluntary Service for Peace, gave a series of lantern lectures on "Pick and Shovel Peace-Making" last week-the annual peace week arranged by the Peace Committee of Manchester Friends.

The peace education of children was given special thought by the organizers, and peace posters designed by children in Manchester and Salford schools were displayed in the Friends' Meeting House, many of

The Economic System

The Society of Jews and Christians, which holds its fifth biennial conference at the New Burlington Galleries, London, W.1, on Monday, will dis- on November 19, 20, and 21. The now, as we see these preparations bearing their normal fruit, we cry out too late.

Cuss "The Religious Judgment on the main subject for discussion there will present Feonomic System". Present Economic System." Canon be the moral, religious, and philo-Raven and Professor Norman Bent-sophical aspects of peace, and the wich are the principal speakers. Admission to the conference is free on application to Miss Ricardo, 54 Fetter Lane, E.C.4.

PROPAGANDA EXHIBITION

An exhibition of peace propaganda will be held by the Peace Publicity Bureau during the first British national congress of the International Peace Campaign, to be held in University

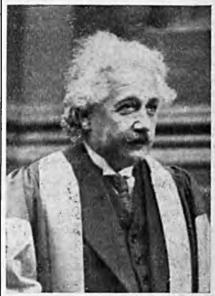
BLOOD SPORTS AND WAR

Einstein on the Connexion

From a Correspondent

AN interesting commentary on the relation between blood sports and war is afforded by a letter from Albert Einstein addressed to the National Society for the Abolition of Cruel Sports (publishers of Two Similar Pastimes: Sport and War, by Henry S.

"The views expressed in the pamphlet," writes Professor Einstein, "seem to me to be essential to any truly humane outlook on life. Nature has



PROFESSOR EINSTEIN

implanted a love of slaughter in predatory animals; and from those animals we ourselves are no doubt descended. Nevertheless, this instinct seems to become extinguished in man when he has lived for thousands of years under civilized conditions.

"Only thus can I explain my strong and very definite abhorrence of blood sports, while at the same time I see that they produce the very opposite reaction in the minds of so many of my fellow-men-who, however, usually only look back upon a very much briefer period of their ancestors' civilization.

"This deep-seated difference, I am well aware, is nothing less than tragic for people of my way of thinking. It obviously includes not only our attitude to the animal-world, but also the whole question of man's humanity to his fellows."

National Youth Assembly

The British Youth Peace Assembly will hold its next big meeting at Bristol work will be done in four commissions.

In choosing this subject the B.Y.P.A. is carrying out the policy of the World Youth Congress which met in Geneva in September, 1936.

National organizations and local youth peace assemblies are invited to send delegates. Observers will be welcomed from any organization or from local branches. Full particulars can be obtained from the secretary, B.Y.P.A., 15a Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:-

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

October 9, 1937

"IT'S BEING MECHANIZED, MATE!"

THE slogan of the army recruiting poster is worth considering. Surely the gentleman who coined it was the completest victim of unconscious irony the world has ever seen. He coined it for the purpose of overcoming povertystricken youth's reluctance to become cheap cannon-fodder. The fact that the statement is as appalling as it is true probably never occurred to him; and the fact that it is true is almost the whole case for modern pacifism.

For what does it mean? It means that war, in the practical sense, bears almost no resemblance to what was called by the same name even fifty years ago. Superficially, this is of little account: the fact that ambulances, for example, are now self-propelled instead of being horsedrawn does not materially alter their character. But the truth about war is that the change it has suffered is not superficial: it is revolutionary and entire, as we know in fact, but do not understand because the causes go right down to the springs of human action.

Historically, fighting has been a very natural activity of the instinctive human animal; but with the growth of human consciousness crude physical fighting has become more and more anachronistic. The use of physical force is obviously an instinctive activity: the more simply instinctive the creature the more natural its use of physical force in the assertion of its will. But consciousness implies the sublimation of the instinctive mode of existence. As man comes more and more to consciousness, the old instinctive habit of physical fighting becomes more and more of an anachronism. Hence, if his growth is unhindered, physical fighting will be inevitably surpassed through the accession of consciousness, and imagination—or the sense of the unity of human life-will supplant the old desire for personal self-assertion. War, in plain terms, will die out, simply because fighting of income: Bernard Shaw that equality in income is is essentially a habit of the instinctive creature and man has become predominantly a creature of consciousness.

That war should actually do this has become the conscious desire of mankind the world over. But alas! our fear of death is greater than our faith in life. We have not been able to step cleanly out of the instinctive into the conscious mode of life, despite the fact that consciousness has actually supervened upon instinct. So now we have the frightful spectacle of the persistence of the instinctive in terms of the conscious, orto express it in practical terms-fighting carried on by scientific means: "it's being mechanized.

That is the horror. And its horror is abysmal (Continued foot of page 7, column 1)

WHITHER? The Dilemma of the Labour Party

By FRED LONGDEN

(Lab. & Co-op. Ex-M.P. & Prospective Parliamentary Candidate)

NOW we know.

and astonishing of common-deal planks has been tightly-nailed into the platform of rearmament by the leading political parties of our

By fairly general consent, this has come. Leaders have accepted and followers have acquiesced. The nearest-to-democracy-we-have (so to speak) has spoken. Yet there are many thousands, among the essential and useful grades of our Triple Movement, who, this very day, are sad, or bewildered, or revolted. For they are not only being partially disfranchised, but the common effort is to try to forget them.

Will this "pay" in the longer run?

Are they wrong in pointing out that the socalled "national defence" bug is causing a fearful and almost incurable epidemic?

The Great War "to end war" has taught our 'responsibles" just nothing. In 1914, German Armyism and British Navalism, with their variations, proved how being "armed to the teeth" does not bring peace or punish the truly guilty. But our "leaders" speak as though only by arming to the scalp can we be protected. The assumed crushing of Kaiserdom and Junkerdom did not save us from such doms, did it? But our "leaders" speak as though only the isms of the foreign Hitlers keep the world from tranquility!

It seems that we are asked to thank God that 'our" rulers and our imperialism are not so bad as the "foreign" brands. This unutterable lack of historical and contemporary perspective is morally and mentally shattering.

Is it but a platitude to say that "who takes up the sword shall perish by the sword"? Can you argue that there is any precedent which even remotely suggests that democracy can be defended, let alone won, by the sword? Could democracy survive or arise from the general devastation that must follow modern war? If it were possible for such "democratic" and "civilized" method to leave behind any with mental balance and competency, the historian would record the fact that no age could be nearer to effecting the truism that "whom the gods wish to destroy, they first drive mad."

Of course, let us "be practical."

Let us rush on to assume that anything approaching democracy does or can exist in class-based society. Professor Hilton has restated the fact that only one in a thousand has a chance of "equality of opportunity": Professor Muir that a main foundation of liberty is missing when one has neither security nor sufficiency the logical equity. These conditions cannot exist in class-based society; without them the very term "democracy" is a misnomer, and "government by consent" but a farce.

Pass by—if you are strong-willed—the disingenious reiteration about our "Commonwealth," in such circumstances, and overlook the shameful lack of both economic and political and social inequalities we allow the weaker races of the Empire to "enjoy," and for which "we" have "responsibilities" for defending against some Blackshirt or other power, far from "my own, my native land."

Try to suppress the indisputable fact that British diplomacy, backed by the armed forces we now provide, must insist on "keeping the ring"-on holding what "we" have—on the status quo.

Let us be quite passive while our leaders generate their "hymn of hate," and snarl at foreign "fascist" countries for doing what British "democracy" has managed, and does manage, to do even more successfully. "Oh wad some power the giftie gie us, To see for their modernity!

oursel's as ithers see us!" as Burns says. For n We do learn that the most outstanding great Light of Leading can ever shine in a world of such debasing hypocrisy! The building of "our Empire through the horrors of the Crusades and Drogheda-of wholesale State-blessed piratage, massacre, slavery, hangings, and torture—of anti-race propaganda—of press-gangs and employment of foreign mercenaries at home and abroad-of Tolpuddles and DORAS - to Easter Weeks and Amritzars, and so on and on: these compare not too favourably with "fascist" home and foreign brutalities and suppressions, with their Shanghais, Guernicas, Interventions, Moors, and Liberty Suppressions.

But the mass of our fine people wait for the Light. We are advised to support the arming of this imperialism, which has won world-wide notoriety by placing its weight on the side of reaction. At home is quite capable of "using" our Mosleys in the work of "keeping the ring" during periods of chaos arising from war or industrial depression, though the command of the armed forces and arms we give is not likely to fail. At that stage, it is questionable whether the ruling classes, alone, would not be preferable.

Well, if we can overlook all these factors, what then?

The "average man" stares at the big heading in the Daily Herald of September 6. "Democracy must be defended," says "Mr. Shinwell." He states "the Labour Party's attitude in the event of another war-"If this country is involved in war," he says, "it would be criminal folly to place any obstacle in the way of victory, particularly if the opposition comes from fascist countries." Shades of Mars throughout time Victory" is to come for ...? Victory will come for 'democracy" by placing no obstacle in the way of our imperialism as against some other, called "fascist"?

Such utterances ought to be qualified or disqualified, for they spell nothing short of the fascist totalitarian command of all individuals and everything for the mperialist State. The individual must be an automaton and everything else must fit in automatically. And the need would be more "particular" if we fought fascist countries. It would not be so important if we fought what are called "democratic" countries, such as France, America, and Denmark, while "obstacles" would be of less account in the case of standing f Russia; but, no doubt, this "attitude" would prove primitive. how much better our "democracy" is than theirs!

We are asked to be more "particular" when there is resurrected some modern Kaiser like Hitler, Mussolini, or Franco. But what is the logic of all this It is that you must make of everybody and everything as perfect a part of the fighting machine as is humanly possible—as do the lace imme fascists.

Let our Shinwells act as straight as they talk. Let them go full-freighted for the jesuitical end, if they see one. They have no right to let children grow up not liking or believing in war. They should not fling our disintegrat liking or believing in war. They should not may duct war syouth into war un-blooded and untrained. They duct war s should not go into war without more-than-ample arms. They should insist on removing the "obstacle" then you of recruiting in favour of immediate conscription.

Not only should they inspire our youth with the activity its Not only should they inspire our youth with subject of fighting for our democracy against some subject of other, "particularly" fascist. They should be ready, themselves, to go forward and stick a bayonet into the vitably the vitals of men of "enemy" countries and send their war. Henthe vitals of men of "enemy" countries and send under the civi airmen on the "noble" work of massacring massacring innocents abroad, since, as a Crozier might say, you slaughter cannot allow qualms about humanity to become an "obstacle" even in a war to "save democracy." In children any case the Shinnell ' any case, the Shinwells have no moral right to ask and is it n others to do what they will not do themselves, and they ought to be intelligent enough to imagine what their advocacy involves. heir advocacy involves.

Such doctrine cannot lead to anything but that of they canno the Hitlers. It is the logical outcome of those who push now beckon us to rearmament in their belief that it is the lence. Wi

Can the man in the street see any difference between the Labour Party and the National Govern ment? Why "swap horses when crossing the stream, ment? Why "swap horses when crossing the stream war war will be he asks? He wonders why we should, when we say war will be that we want rearmament for democracy. So it is not difficult for our opponents to convince him that our hate of the fascists might bring war nearer if we were in power. He wants "national defence" all right; and burselves so he votes for the older hands and thanks the younger teans of h

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PARS FOR THE **PLATFORM**

AERIAL bombardment for the purpose of terrorizing the civilian population, of destroying or damaging private property not of a military character, or of injuring non-combatants, is prohibited.—Article 22. Hague Air Convention, 1923.

The bombardment of cities, towns, villages, dwellings, or buildings not in the immediate neighbourhood of the operations of land forces is prohibited. In cases where the objectives specified in paragraph 2 (in which military objectives are defined) are so situated that they cannot be bombarded without the indiscriminate bombardment of the civil population the aircraft must abstain from hombardment —Article 23. the aircraft must abstain from bombardment.—Article 23, Paragraph 3, Hague Air Convention, 1923.

What happens in practice is well enough anown. Civilians are now a military objective. It would be the same in the West as in the East.

NOT content with our example in the past, the R.A.F. still teaches the world to do what people condemn Japan for doing:

Officers from the air forces of many countries come to the Royal Air Force for specialized training, and during the present year seven air forces, including those of China and apan, have had representatives in this country.

These visitors are allowed to study in detail almost every branch of Royal Air Force work. They are attached to air-craft depots, flying training schools, fighter squadrons, general reconnaissance squadrons, and to the School of Air Navi-Aeronautical Correspondent, Morning Post, Sep-

(Concluded on page 11, column 4)

(Continued from page 6, col. 1)

because it denotes the failure of human consciousness to achieve its true and only purpose. It denotes, moreover, a consequent attempt at reversion toward an elementary and primitive mode of life to be carried out with all the intelligence and comprehension that belong to consciousness.

This is perversion absolute. This is devilish, for it is the use of the spiritual for the satanic the use of culture for the purposes of barbarism. This is the way to the torture of the human race e so important by its own Inquisition. It is ultimately the use of the technique of wisdom, love and undernmark, who of standing for the promotion and service of the would prove primitive, hungry, and devouring creature which, of course, persists in us all in degree.

But that is why war is now wholly intolerable. is intolerable because it has become a contradiction in nature, a complete anachronism, an tavism that must be foresworn by the human -as do the Pace immediately, if it values its persistence.

"It's being mechanized, mate," is veritably the writing on the wall. Science embraces the world: scientific war therefore means the total not fling our disintegration of the world. If you are to conanned. They duct war scientifically (and this is not optional) re-than-ample the "obstacle the "obstacle onscription on the land" of destruction at your disposal: the outh with the activity itself must be totalitarian because the against some subject of science is everything. Hence the bayonet into hevitably comprehensive nature of modern and send their war. Hence the necessity to destroy the morale ing masses of of the civil population. Hence the inevitable night say, you slaughter of the innocent—men, women, and to become an children of the innocent—men, women, and nocracy." at and in Abyssinia, Spain, and now China; 1 right to ask and is it not significant that these are, racially emselves, and emselves, and imagine what imagine which imagine what im

That the modern atrocities must be so, that ig but that of they cannot be otherwise, war being what it is, of those who ought now to be plain to the simplest intelli-that it is "the sence. War is now massacre inevitably and in rict obedience to the nature of things: it is onal Governation of the stream, g the stream, at th when we say war will be massacre and can never be anything when we will be massacre and can never be anything him that our lower what then have we to say, who have the him that ower to were to decide whether or no we will lend all right; and urselves to this scientifically mechanized all right, cans of human destruction?

A Weekly Commentary By J. Middleton Murry

THE PHARISEE & THE PUBLICAN

nation proposes, if need be, to perpetrate European nations propose, if need be, to perpetrate precisely similar outrages on us.

What, after all, is Japan doing? She is setting herself, as efficiently and as quickly as she can, to destroy the morale of the civilian population of China. That is the recognized objective of all major military operations today, and Japan is employing the recognized means



Middleton Murry

to achieve it: though, as yet, not all the means. We have not yet heard that the gas-war has

But the "need"? Japan declares that her need is very great. She must expand or explode. She has seventy million inhabitants cooped up on her barren islands. By all our European standards of "need," in such matters, her need is indeed great, and overwhelming. No European nation is so deeply under the screw of economic necessity as is Japan today.

Once we have admitted that national necessity may compel any nation to resort to modern war, Japan is completely absolved. She is merely engaged in modern war, under the pressure of national necessity. Her vital interests are at stake.

The British nation cannot condemn Japan without condemning itself. It so happens that we did all the dirty work that Japan is engaged in now some time before the bombing-plane was the Japanese—we have all we want, we feel that seems to me nothing less than a disaster. we have a right to indulge in moral indignation because the belated Japanese insist on doing the same thing in the truly modern way.

Japan is doing to China. How dare we protest? protest. We have protested too much and too A meeting of humiliation and repentance seems often. It is time to repent instead.

THE British conscience is outraged by the to me what is called for. Are we not, at this very Japanese outrages in China. Yet the British moment, bombing villages on the North-West Frontier of India? Is it the mere size of the precisely similar outrages in Europe, and the murder that we protest against? As though to bomb 5,000 innocent civilians to pieces were a hundred times worse than bombing 50, and five thousand times worse than bombing one! If that is the casuistry of modern morality, then I vastly prefer the more civilized casuistry of old. I can understand the essential difference between a venial and a mortal sin; I can see no essential difference between deliberately blowing one civilian to pieces and blowing a million.

> There is a story in the gospel of St. Luke which is pretty familiar, so familiar, I suppose, that it has long ceased to mean anything. It tells how two men went up into the Temple to pray: the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican. The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself: "God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are — extortioners, unjust, adulterers. I fast twice a week, and pay my taxes." But the publican, standing afar off, would not lift even his eyes toward heaven, but beat his breast, and said: "O God, be merciful to me, a sinner." And Jesus said that the publican went home accepted by God, while the Pharisee was rejected.

I cannot help thinking that those who would protest against the outrages of Japan in China are like the Pharisee. Men who live in an England made rich as the result of the same kind of outrages, men who are, and must be, members of a country which is prepared, under stress of "necessity," to commit precisely the same outrages as Japan, and for the same ends -surely, they cannot do otherwise than as the publican: humiliate themselves and repent. They cannot protest—at least against anybody other than themselves.

Being accepted by God is, I know, a condition which does not concern many men today. The words are strange, and the condition unimaginable—even to most good men today. In this strange intellectual climate, humiliation and repentance have become vague superstitions: conditions out of which we have progressed, possibilities to which we have lost the clue. The world, or at least this England, is a damned invented. We fought the Opium War without sight too full of good men and women today. the bombing-plane; we conquered India without And one of the reasons is that somehow there the bombing-plane. But we conquered by using has been stolen from our hearts and minds the armaments as superior to those opposed to us, idea of true perfection—as something real yet as the Japanese air-force is superior to the inherently unattainable by man. We have lost Chinese today. All these things we con-the idea of original sin: we have ceased to veniently forget. Now that—by means of understand what it meant. Probably the dogma conduct essentially the same as the conduct of had to go. But that the idea should have gone

And I am terribly afraid that many even of my readers will not understand me when I say: Beware of protesting against what Japan is It beats me: it does more than beat me. It doing to China! If we do not yet know what to unspeakably depresses me. I am uneasy even at do to express what we feel about that abomithe idea of a meeting of protest against what nation, let us rather meet and be silent than

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Recent Publications

THE WORLD, THE SCHOOLS, LITERATURE LIST OF PACIFIST AND YOUTH. J. Howard Whitehouse. Society for Research in Education. Yellowsands, Bembridge, Isle of Wight. 2s.

This book, produced by the Cambridge University Press, contains the address given by the author (who is Warden of Bembridge School, and chairman of the Society for Research in Education) at the Conference of Educational Associations in London early this year.

It is an attempt to set forth true values in a confused world and to protect youth from the mistakes of age. It criticizes the dogma of collective "security" and appeals for the elimination of threats from the Covenant of the League. Dr. G. P. Gooch adds a comment.

THE END OF SOCIALISM IN RUSSIA. Max Eastman. Secker and Warburg. 1s.

Statements that everything is wrong in Russia have been current since 1917, and the Soviet habit of shouting mistakes (or some of them) from the housetops makes it easy for critics to find material to work upon.

But, prejudiced hostility and errors due to inexperience apart, many people who had hopes of great things from the Soviet Union feel uneasy. Admittedly, economic planning has had astounding results in some spheres, but the suspicion grows that the essence of socialism is forgotten. Max Eastman here gives chapter and verse to show that this is so.

"Pravda, the official organ of Lenin's party," he says, "hauls down the Marxian banner, 'Workers of the world unite!' and runs up the slogan of all mad dogs of war: 'Defence of the fatherland is the supreme law of life."

There is much more in the book, but if the facts are as stated, the title is

DO THE STATE AND NATION BELONG TO GOD OR THE DEVIL? Reinhold Niebuhr. Student Christian Movement Press. 6d.

This reprint of the Burge Memorial Lecture for 1937 contains much food for thought on the part of anyone con
BEFORE the first rehearsal the pro
More About Plays—8 cerned with the relationship between religious institutions, the community, and the State. The concluding pages, outlining the task of "a genuinely prophetic religion," are of particular

WHAT THE COST OF ONE BATTLESHIP WILL BUY Friends Peace Literature Committee. Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. 1d.

This folder has been brought up-toarmament cause a great deal of unemployment?" Illustrations bring home forcibly the fact that the economic advantages alone of disarmament make it an infinitely more sensible policy than "rearmament."

FRIENDS' BOOK CENTRE **EUSTON ROAD**

Do you know of this shop where you may examine at leisure and in comfort the latest books on religious, social and international problems? Phone EUSton 3602 Opposite Eusten Station

FELLOWSHIPS, GROUPS, AND UNIONS. Parliamentary Pacifist Group (secretary, Cecil H. Wilson, M.P., 48 St. George's Road, London, S.W.1). 4d. for 10.

This is the useful literature-list-cumdirectory referred to in last week's PEACE NEWS.

Two small slips in the section dealing with the Peace Pledge Union call for correction: Aldous Huxley's Encyclopædia of Pacifism costs 6d. (not 3d.) and the full title of Max Plowman's pamphlet is The Meaning of Rearmament.

A Musical Comedy for Peace

A TRANSLATION of No More Peace, by Ernst Toller, has just been published by The Bodley Head Press (price 5s.).

This is a very amusing three-act play with musical numbers, and has been translated from the German by Edward Crankshaw. The lyrics have been adapted by W. H. Auden and set to music by Herbert Murrill.

The theme of the play centres round a wager made by Napoleon to St. Francis, in Olympus, that the little state of Dunkelstein, which is celebrating the success of its disarmament talks and peace conferences, will be just as eager to go to war as ever.

-- reviewed by -JOHN ATHEY

Reluctantly, but with great faith in mankind, St. Francis accepts the bet, and Napoleon sends a faked telegram in the midst of a peace celebration stating, very vaguely, that war has been declared.

"WAR TO END ALL WARS"

The result is the declaration of a dictatorship, organizing for "the war to end all wars," execution of supposed spies (even though the enemy is unknown), and a general chaos. No one even troubles to find out the enemy and the slightest rumour starts a rooting out of aliens.

Socrates is sent to earth by St. Francis to prove that reason will overcome the thoughtless horrors, but he is immediately arrested as a spy because the people cannot understand reason.

Beneath the fun and fantasy lies the terrible thought that this is not far from reality in the present state of world unrest.

There is beauty in the love of Rachel, the only true pacifist in the whole play, who finds that her love and ideals land her in prison as a

The songs add to the raving and glamour of the dictatorship and the whole play should prove entertaining and amusing, with a vein of truth running through it.

There are seventeen characters, some of which may, with a little thought, be doubled, and a group of children. The scenery and settings should present no difficulty, there being only three changes in the seven scenes, and could be effectively produced in curtain settings.

.FILMS-

The World (except Britain!) in Revolt

From a Correspondent

A NEWSPAPER report induced me to go and see The World in Revolt, but I feel that the daily paper is better propaganda, from the pacifist point of view, than this new film.

The latter, indeed, is really nothing but a collection of newsreels, just like photographs on the last page of a paper, badly strung together and badly screened. All but one of the commentators were Americans, so "accentuated" and hysterical that they were hardly intelligible, and the running accompaniment of the music made them even harder to understand.

For a time I watched the show in a state of bewilderment, wondering what it was leading up to, and then, toward the end, the plot was revealed.

The historic depression of 1931 showed Britain apparently in much the same dilemma as her less steady neighbours, but was swiftly followed by a rising tide of returning trade, admittedly chiefly due to "rearmament," Government building, and ship-

This gradually worked up to cliches like "sea-girt isle" and slogans such as "enduring peace based on armed security," so that one was prepared for the inevitable finale — battleships and Rule Britannia.

In short, whatever the author may have intended, the film is now nothing but an insidious example of pro-British and antiforeign militarist propaganda.

DANGEROUS

Why all this newspaper fuss about such a commonplace? Other people may be beguiled, like myself, into seeing the film.

The poison is indeed insidious, if one is not an old hand. Never was the coalition of journalist and film producer more dangerous than at this moment, and one must be prepared to expose them, even when, as in this case, it seems likely that the producer has thrown dust in the eyes of the journalist.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION....

New Signatures of the Peace Pledge-

Will Group Leaders receiving these please check that they are

LEGIBLE & COMPLETE

before passing them on to Headquarters?

ducer must familiarize himself thoroughly with the play, making out what is used to represent these, but it a provisional "plot," not only of the actual set and its furniture and propositions of doors, windows, fireplace,
perties, but also of the play's action as table, chairs (or whatever the play it will be expressed by the positions taken and the moves made by the

He should have watched in his own ance; to be able to do this, he must to be concerned with anything else at the actors' memories; presently they date and provides the perfect short know the play sufficiently well to the first few rehearsals.

answer to the question "Would not disanswer to the question " which its emotions unfold themselves from climax to climax in changing moods and tempos.

> These conceptions of the finished production should not become fixed ideas; they should be fluid enough to be capable of being revolutionized should actual experience at rehearsal demand it. But some preconceived standard, an ideal to work toward, is

be set with its bare necessities of fur- major moves (gestures will come later); niture and so on; it does not matter let the actors mark their own moves in

must be clear from the beginning to

everyone in the cast what are the exact requires).

The next essentials to deal with are "positions" and "moves": these are the skeletal structure on which the passage (say, a page of the script) have whole play is built, and they are of vital importance. It is a waste of time passage once or twice to impress it on

A good rule is that the bes need, because you are acting in a play, to behave unreally. (Other audience.)

At the first rehearsal the stage should the script on which the actors make come fully to life before an audience a set with its bare proposition of first make come fully to life before an audience as the set with its bare proposition of first make come fully to life before an audience as the set with its bare proposition of first make come fully to life before an audience as the set with its bare proposition of first make come fully to life before an audience as the set with its bare proposition of first make come fully to life before an audience as the set with its bare proposition of first make come fully to life before an audience as the set with its bare proposition of first make come fully to life before an audience as the set with its bare proposition of first make come fully to life before an audience as the set with its bare proposition of first make come fully to life before an audience as the set with its bare proposition of first make come fully to life before an audience as the set with its bare proposition of first make come fully to life before an audience as the set with the se

pencil in their scripts—"sit," "stand,"
"cross to fireplace," "turn up-stage"
"come down," &c. The amount movement necessitated by a scene will generally be obvious. Some scenes will demand plenty of movement, some repose; both a static lack of movement and a fussy surplus of it should be

When the moves and positions of a been decided upon, rehearse that will adopt these positions and make these movements automatically to coincide with the lines to which they position or move is the one that have been fitted, and their attention comes most naturally; there is no will be free for other considerations.

This early work is slow and rather good rules, by the way, are: never, dull, but it is necessary to get these unless in exceptional circumstances, mechanical matters settled at the startto move when another actor is speak- so that they do not have to be reverted ing, and never to take up a position to later, when you have begun to build that hides another actor from the upon the skeleton the finer aspects of the play. If these foundations are neglected, the production as a whole Determine, then, the precise lines of can never be sound, nor is it likely to

R. H. Ward

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The Le Personal I lin, is an a character friendships foreigners through thence, and visits.

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. H. Ward

—Pacifism – in History

Non-Violence Versus The Huns

From a Correspondent

Those old enough to remember the wide use of the term "Hun" as a designation of hatred and reproach for the Germans during the War, may be interested in the following. It shows how a better way than fighting prevailed against the original Huns under their leader, Attila, at the time of the break-up of the Roman Empire. (The emphasis is mine.)

THOUGH the Latin-speaking Roman Empire died in the fifth century something else had been born within it... and that was the Latin-speaking half of the Catholic Church. This lived while the Empire died because it appealed to the minds and wills of men, because it had books and teachers and missionaries to hold it together, things stronger than any law or legions ... while the Empire was decaying Christianity was spreading to universal dominion in Europe.

"It conquered its conquerors, the barbarians. When Attila seemed disposed to march on Rome the Patriarch of Rome intercepted him and did what no armies could do, turning him back by sheer moral force."

Amidst a of this was triumphan has been practice by turning him back by sheer moral force."

(H. G. Wells in A Short History of the World, chapter forty.)

Introducing a

League for Personal Friendships

The League for the Cultivating of personal Friendships Abroad, of Berlin, is an association of a non-political character and aims at the fostering of friendships between Germans and foreigners in many countries, primarily through the exchange of correspondence, and through travel and exchange visits.

Should your readers be interested, and get into touch with the Secretary, Herr W. Floerke, I believe that their interest would be very cordially welcomed, as the society is anxious to increase the number of its English associates.

Rerlin, and speak well of the association, the address of which is Berlin, 207, Alexanderplatz 1, Berolinahaus

ARTHUR E. SOUTHERN.

We Didn't Say It

We are told that the Powers are desperately seeking plans to escape the rayages of the next war. Unanimously redding not to have one is the only remedy that has so far not occurred to them.—Punch.

that we will never again in any circumstances use military weapons. . . we have to strive for right with other than to progress.—Dr. Alfred Hall, at Twelfth Congress of the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom.

These Rough Notes for a

(St. Mark X, 22: And he went away grieved for he had great possessions.)

HERE are certain testing times, both in the lives of individuals and nations, when the normal progress of our days is suddenly arrested and we are asked to choose.

What spiritual forces govern these times, so pregnant with moral possibilities, when the powers of light and darkness struggle for mastery in the hearts of men, we may not know. They are times when salvation is offered to us—at a price—and the price is always sacrifice, sacrifice of self or of the things we hold dear.

(Describe the refusal of the young man to follow the path of salvation pointed out to him.)

We may recognize our testing times, whether as individuals or as a nation, according to the degree of sacrifice we are called on to make. Salvation by sacrifice is one of the universal laws which Christianity all down the ages has sought to teach man.

The War and Sacrifice

Amidst all the unprecedented horrors of this war one glorious fact emerges triumphant. The lesson of sacrifice has been apprehended and put into practice by our people as never before in history.

(Suggest that there are already signs that the nation will emerge from its present testing time morally braced and strengthened by these sacrifices. Contrast our internal conditions before August, 1914, and at the present day. Before, the air was full of strife and rumours of greater strife—capital and labour, strikes, &c. Now the nation is united as never before. People are crying out not "What can I get?" but "What can I give?" Less is heard of "Rights" and more of "Duties.")

WAR LOAN SERMON

have been taken from an official paper issued February, 1917

Sacrifice of Soldier and Sailor

We who are compelled to stay at home can never approach it. (The horrors of modern warfare.)

It is the knowledge that our men are fighting for right against might which alone sustains them in the conflict.

(Deal with those who argue that all war is wrong.) Theoretically they may be right. But evils are not eradicated by denying their existence. Theft is wrong; murder is wrong; but they exist, and society takes steps to protect itself, by force, if necessary, against them.

Ask this question: Which will bring the end of all warfare more nearly in sight?—a victory for the Allies or a victory for Germany? The peaceful future of the world is in deadly peril from the menace of German militaries.

It is against the triumph of these ideas that we are fighting. Who could maintain that we should be fulfilling the law of Christ in standing aside to allow these devilish ideas to reign over the world?

Not only are our soldiers and sailors standing moment by moment between us and the hideous injuries which a baffled and enraged enemy, baulked in his lust for conquest, would above all things like to inflict upon the people of these islands; not only are they fighting the physical battle for us, very definitely are they fighting for those spiritual ideas and liberties which the religious man believes are high in value above anything and everything else for the future of mankind.

Our Sacrifice

The call for sacrifice is again sounding in our ears today. We are being asked to provide the means for victory by subscribing to the new War Loan.

After war lies and hate-mongering

Perhaps this will be regarded as too secular a subject to be fittingly mentioned from the pulpit. Surely the religious man has always been taught to regard his wealth, great, or small, not as his own but as a trust to be used in the service of God's will, which is the establishment of righteousness upon earth.

Let us face the facts frankly. All we are asked to do, and it is assuredly little enough in comparison with what our fighting men are doing, is temporarily to sacrifice our personal comfort, by enjoining upon ourselves the practice of a most rigid economy, in order that we may lend as much money as possible to be expended upon the needs of the forces.

Do not forget at this moment, as we sit here, comfortable and secure, out there upon the vast battlefields of Europe, men, it may be thousands of them, are making the last journey along the great highways of a ghastly pain.

Money is wanted to lessen the numbers of those who will never come back. As it has been well expressed, it is a question of our money or their lives.

Make no mistake, every lender becomes a defender—a defender who, without flinching, is bearing the heat and burden of the fight.

Very definitely the call comes to us today to choose whether we will offer such material resources as we possess upon the altar of our common ideals, or whether we will renounce the call and hug our possessions to ourselves.

If we honestly believe that the War is a fight for right against might there is no other course open to us than to give our substance to a cause for which others are gladly giving their lives.

It is never what we give but what we withhold that we regret. Let us not turn away sorrowful with our great possessions, for the chance may not come again.

"In wet weather he used to be troubled with foot passengers encroaching gradually on the fields in search of a better path.

"You know exactly what would be his way of managing such people. He first made them a better road and then requested them to keep to it."—George Edmondson described by his wife in Quaker Pioneers in Russia, by Jane Benson.

Each generation afresh must bear the heavy responsibility of conducting development in the best way so that its successor may be able to meet the changing and, at the same time, the increasing needs . . . the greatest of the problems with which we are faced is the end of international war. — Sir Edward Poulton at British Association Meetings.

Christmas is Coming!

AY I suggest," writes a correspondent, "that you urge readers to send you money to pay a quarter's (or six months', &c.) subscription to PEACE NEWS, the copies to be sent to a friend, whose Christmas present this would be."

This idea proved popular last year so this time we are publishing the form well in advance for the benefit of those who wish to "shop early"!

Fill in the form below and send it to us, with the money, and leave the rest to us! Your friend will start receiving his copies of PEACE NEWS with the issue dated December 25.

To the Publishers of PEACE NEWS 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11

Please send PEACE NEWS to

for * three months, six months, one year, with a Christmas

greeting from

for which I enclose * 2s. 9d., 5s. 6d., 10s. 6d.

* Strike out those which do not apply.

AN "OBSTACLE TO **PROGRESS** "

THERE are very many of us who feel that the attitude expressed by your correspondent, W. R. Marchant (Letters, September 18), though doubtless greatest obstacles to the progress of Christian pacifism.

Why this cool statement that organized religious circles represent one of the last places in which to find Christianity? We all know that the Church has failed over and over again, and a religion divorced from the organized life of the Church with its worship and sacraments may be a very good religion-though I doubt it-but if there is one thing quite certain about it, it is this—that it is not the Christian religion. The New Testament knows nothing of a religion practised by indi-

Many of us are anxious to cooperate as far as possible-non-Christian with Christian pacifist and vice versa. But for those of us who want to bring the contribution of a Christian pacifism based upon that living, vital experience of worship and sacrament, the attitude of your correspondent is a little exasperating.

H. A. WHITTINGHAM,

Chairman, Liverpool University P.P.U. Group.

Liverpool University.

"Co-op."

With reference to Professor J. W Scott's article on the Homecroft Plan (PEACE NEWS, September 18) it may be of interest to many readers to call attention to the novel, Co-op, by Upton

In Sinclair's book will be found an account of the working of a scheme such as Professor Scott advocates, a picture of the attempt being made in America today to build a new way of life "within the shell" of the old system.

The novel is also of interest in that it helps us to face the difficulties, and to realize the possibilities of such group life as we are attempting to create in pacifist cells.

V. C. REYNOLDS.

74 Pentre Gardens, Cardiff.

Glamour

The correspondence about the book written by the late General Crozier reveals that many pacifists still think it necessary to spend their energies in dis-pelling "the glamour of war." For whom has war any glamour? Perhaps for a few retired officers, living in the country. Everyone else, whether from hearsay or experience, now knows the nature of war only too well, and the continual repetition of its horrors serves merely to paralyse them with fear and despair.

There is no help here for the man who wishes to know what he can do about these things. One has far to go in this country before one can find a man who will speak in favour of war. If more pacifists would cease preaching to the converted, and turn their making constructiv posals, the cause of peace would be further advanced than it is now.

E. L. BADOCK

Holmwood, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.

The present hysteria in the Press occasioned by events in China unfortunately reveals that comparatively few people understand that attacks on "non-combatants" are inevitable in war nowadays, i.e., their mental image of war does not fit the facts. The veil of illusion must be stripped away if they are to be convinced of the need for a constructive alternative. The latter is constantly elaborated by pacifist speakers and writers, among whom the late General Crozier was to be numbered .- Ed.

LETTERS to the EDITOR

sincere, represents in fact one of the ATHEIST APPEAL FOR "CHRISTIAN TOLERANCE"

Timely

"K. T.'s" request that Christians and atheists should keep their respective religious beliefs in the background of their pacifism is timely. The ordinary man is shy of a specifically religious appeal because (unhappily) he often associates it with the spurious piety of some who call themselves Christians.

Pacifists would be wise to remember that all of us have renounced war in the name of humanity, but only some viduals on their own, independently of the life of the corporate body. in the name of God: for pacifism (and the life of the corporate body. will succeed only if it is comprehensive.

TWO AGNOSTICS.

Moral Realities

In the article in PEACE NEWS for September 25, pleading for Christian toleration and written from the atheistic point of view, your contri-butor would have us dissociate our pacifist ideals from faith or unbelief in

This, however, is possible only by shutting our eyes to the moral realities involved, in which case pacifism becomes a mere baseless form of words embodying an idea unable to withstand the threat, much less the reality, of persecution or war. Proof of this is seen in the dying out of pacifist ideals that has accompanied the rise of paganism and atheism in Europe today.

The attempt to relate pacifism to fundamental unbelief in God issues in an even worse confusion. One major State has adopted the philosophy of atheism and sought at the same time to preserve a semblance of belief in human brotherhood, with the result that fear and mutual distrust, hatred, and massacre are mere normal phenomena of its civil relations.

WILLIAM E. KIRK.

27 Greenhill Avenue, Giffnock, Glasgow.

Our Common Enemy

Those PEACE NEWS correspondents who criticize the Church must forget how much our cause owes to men like Dick Sheppard, Canon Morris, Canon Raven, the Bishop of Birmingham, and Donald Soper, all of whom the Church has bred. Without these and the hundreds of other Christians who give their work and brains and money the movement would indeed be a pale and anæmic

Our critics should remember too that, like most other forward movements in the world's progress, pacifism began among the religious. The early Church was entirely pacifist and following the example of the Quakers, each denomination has had its own pacifist organization for years: long before the arrival of the popular move-

All Christians believe that war is wrong, and this belief has not been carried to its logical conclusion only. carried to its logical conclusion only because those within the Church are misled by prejudice and propaganda equally with those without its walls. But slowly and surely the leaven is working, and more and more Christians are beginning to see that if war is wrong they must not support it.

It should not be necessary to make this defence. Whether inside or out-side the Church let us advance in step -not linger by the road side in mutual disparagement. If our cause is to win before civilization is swept away on the altar of war, we must concentrate all our energies against the common together and pull together as pacifists,

A Message for All

T is perhaps not surprising that someone who calls himself an atheist has had to appeal for Christian tolerance among pacifists. I myself have noticed, with great disappointment, a definite tendency lately to suggest that the only approach to pacifism likely to meet with lasting success is the Christian approach.

There are thousands of pacifists outside the Church today, not because they cannot force the entire Church to go pacifist, but because they no longer accept the creed and dogma which the Church stands for. Therefore, to remain in the Church and pay lipservice to that which one no longer believes is to retard one's spiritual

When I joined the P.P.U. I was told that it was non-sectarian, and that Richard Gregg's book, The Power of Non-Violence, was to be the text book of the movement. It was refreshing to see in PEACE NEWS this week an extract from an article of his which had appeared in an American paper. Would that we could see and hear more of the man who wrote that thought-provocative book which did so much to set the P.P.U. on the right

We have many writers, too, who have combined intellectualism with spiritual insight and great imagination, including Aldous Huxley, Gerald Heard, and Max Plowman. Indeed no movement surely was more blessed with men and women who had a message for everyone, irrespective of their religious or political beliefs.

For those who are sure that their own personal approach to God or truth, or whatever they may call it, is the only one, there are movements specially suited to their beliefs. But the whole strength of the P.P.U. surely is that it serves all who are working for peace."

There is one acid test we all have to undergo, whether we call ourselves Christian, atheist, rationalist, or any other kind of pacifist, and that is the test of our own lives.

WINIFRED CUMMINGS.

21 Holland Road, Kensington, W.4.

Pull Together

I would like, as a Christian pacifist, to give support to an atheist's appeal for Christian tolerance among pacifists.

As I look around me I feel ashamed

One I know goes to church without fail every Sunday and does all the priest tells him without question. This same person will not speak to an

Another refused to work for peace week because a communist offered his services and was accepted.

The atheist reasons his way to pacifism while the Christian is guided there.

I appeal to all pacifists to join and pacifists alone.

WHICH WAY TO A PACIFIST NATION?

THERE has been considerable discussion recently concerning the formation of a pacifist party. May I point out one or two reasons why such a party would be contrary to the true spirit and interest of pacifism?

Pacifism is primarily a way of life and it is open to each man and woman to be a complete pacifist, whatever the policy of the government in power.

The only successful way of attaining a pacifist country is by convincing the people of the truth of those ideals. When the majority of the people want pacifism, it will come, whatever the government in power. As Lord Ponsonby says in today's PEACE NEWS:

There was no Anti-Witch-Killing League, there was no Act of Parliament passed to stop it, and of course it was not denounced by the churches. It ceased because of the spread of reason and enlightenment, it ceased because men were growing up.

At the present time, the majority of the people want huge armaments and this policy is advocated by both parties. When the majority is pacifist the situation will be reversed or the party unwilling to effect the reversal will be out of power. C. W. MARTIN.

23 Edward Street, Loughborough, Leicester-

Politics & Religion

May I reply to Alice Underhill's points in the order in which she raises them (Letters, September 25):

Whilst church leaders do not actually put into operation their non-pacifist policy as political leaders do when in power, they do something as bad, if not worse: they poison the minds of the people who are not yel pacifist by making anti-pacifist statements in the pulpits. So that from this point of view alone one may be doing more harm in being in the Church with non-pacifist leaders, by creating an anti-pacifist psychology among unthinking congregations than in voicing pacifism in the Labour Party.

In seeking to strengthen the Labour move ment a pacifist may support nine-tenths of the party's programme, may disavow his leaders' advocacy of armaments and the like and be free to win converts to the socialism on which both Alice Underhill and I agree

At election times a pacifist working for he return of a Labour candidate can does express his pacifism as much as he like but he also urges socialism as the great need

For my own part I do not believe that a Labour Government, working on the lines of its programme at home and toward a cooperative world commonwealth, possibly implement its arms programme as at present defined. When a choice had to be made I feel that its adherence to the arms idea would have to be idea would have to be thrown over

There are other ways of making our pact fism known than in the election results. As to disturbing one's leaders by one's pacifism, the best way to do that is not to leave, or stay out of, a movement pledged to socialism but to get into it and continue to be a thorn

Finally, I am quite certain in my own mind that if we pacifists cannot convince people like those in the Labour movement (who are already part way to pacifism in virtue of their socialism) of the rightness of our cause. socialism) of the rightness of our cause, then we shall fail even worse with the electorate.

JOHN CALVERT.

54 Industrial Street, Todmorden.

(This correspondence is now closed.

Letters to the Editor should be as short possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on spa reserve the right to publish extracts from

Correspondents must send their name and addresses, though not necessarily jot

Regina

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October

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Reginald Sorensen, M.P.

AWAY FROM BIG BEN

ROURNEMOUTH absorbs a thousand Labour Party delegates quite easily. Indeed, the sponge could take thousand without making much difference.

Consider the task of compacting 68 agenda pages of resolutions and amendments into approximately four days. A report, financial and domestic questions, and between four and five hundred proposals and counter proposals to be discussed democratically, and conclusions reached by a thousand delegates during 24 hours!

What is a conference? If it is a gathering of people who confer together then the word hardly describes accurately this or any similar assembly, for many of the delegates come to ratify rather than confer. They have their instructions from the organizations they represent. In a variety of ways hundreds of Labour Party groups have threshed out matters ranging from rearmament to the birching of juveniles and have informed their delegates what to support and what to oppose.

Thus, whatever may be the argument that personally convinces the individual delegate, he or she cannot alter the decision already made; the vote must be cast for a resolution even though the delegate is impressed in debate by its folly or falsity. Sometimes this may be a block vote of many thousands and it is bewildering to the innocent onlooker to see a forest of hands defeated on a card vote by a ozen or so. That dozen may represent five million, who have nominally decided before the conference how this vote has to be cast.

This fact generates a measure of scorn among the ardent pioneers and the detached individualists but, short of dictatorship or the Quaker method of general consent, they never offer helpful constructive alternatives. And even the edict of a despot or the process of general assimilation have their practical or moral objections.

The real problem lies in the appro-Priate technique of democracy and until this is created quite a number of otential wars will spring not from human sinfulness or the lust for economic power, but from confusion and maladjustment. A woolly or a frustrated mind can be just as danserous to peace as a metallic or a brutal one. An impersonal motor-car then it breaks down can tempt into avagery the most sanctified of drivers.

On Monday the conference voted in favour of a proposal to improve its machinery by altering the method of electing Divisional Labour Party repreentatives to the Executive. The issue was in doubt, but its success will be good for the Labour movement, for democracy and for peace.

that whatever may be the criticism of Trade Union influence, the Trade ons do represent in the main the erest and outlook of the organthe kingdom of God should not confuse it with Cloud-Cuckoo land and imagine that because he enjoys fellowship with Lansbury and Sheppard he really in contrast with humanity He needs to spend a few hours in The Bricklayer's Arms or at a local greyhound track to know the humanity that is in contrast to the humanity that

Please note. My apparent reference the "grotesque figures" on the us. S.R. pavilion in last week's issue should be "giantesque figures."

BRITAIN'S "WINNING" WAYS?

SPEAKING at the Liberal Jewish Synagogue, St. John's Wood, London, in condemnation of the establishment of the proposed Jewish State in Palestine, Rabbi Dr. Israel Mattuck has endorsed Lord Samuel's suggestion put forward in the House of Lords that the Zionists should abandon the idea of political sovereignty in the Holy Land in return for the opening of the Arab world to Jewish immigration.

That the mandate had proved unworkable, though it would have been possible for Britain to maintain it by force, was pointed out by Dr. Mattuck: "but." he asked, "would any Jew in his right senses desire a group of Jews to be established in Palestine by means of bayonets? . . . Such a State would produce all the dangers of nationhood with little or none of its advantages."

Meanwhile, the best comment on the British "swooping" on the Arab leaders comes from the Daily Worker, which announced, on Saturday, under the heading "Mailed fist in Palestine":-

The British Administration yesterday swooped upon the principal Arab leaders in Palestine, arrested them and took them from their homes.

In doing so, it has thrown down a challenge to Arab nationalism which will rouse anger not only throughout the Near East, but in India and beyond.

Note that last word. For cheek by jowl with this news was the headline referring to the protest against Japan-

Britain can deal winning blow.

Spain

QUESTION OF METHOD

Further Anglo-French conversations this week anticipated Italy's evasive answer to the Note suggesting a tripartite discussion on withdrawal of 'volunteers" from Spain-an answer to the effect that Italy would only discuss it in the Non-Intervention Committee, and that anyhow she thinks the granting of belligerent rights should come first.

The League Political Committee passed a resolution stating that "unless the foreign troops are soon withdrawn an end may be put to the policy of non-intervention." This consequence (rather than threat) was also suggested in the Anglo-French invitation to Italy.

But the Assembly rejected it; so the problem remains one of pacific change versus war (or fear of it) as an instrument of policy.

This will test the value of the dic-"peace pledge" in Berlin last week. But even if the interpretation of Meanwhile, let it not be forgotten the Rome-Berlin axis given by the lat whatever may be the criticism German National Zeitung—the old formula, the army exists for the purpose of war, must now be linked to the second formula, war is inevitable and exists for the sake of politics-represents Italy's true position, the method of pacific change can defeat it but only if the war method is not allowed to influence our own policy.

THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST PARTY

Will the Pacifists who supported our case at Manchester, Birmingham and London, for a Political Party, and all other sympathleers, please send a card to:-

W. L. WILLIAMS, Acting Secretary 39 PARK ROAD, COVENTRY

League's Platform Pars Constructive Who Pays? Services

MR. GERALD BAILEY (National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, London, S.W.1), who has just returned from a visit to Geneva, writes:-

OF course, there was a widespread sense of frustration and impotence in view of the situations in the Far East and in Spain, and the evident dangers and difficulties of fulfilling political obligations in these circumstances. (I left before the meetings of the Far Eastern Committee and, therefore, before the adoption of the resolution condemning Japanese bombing in China.*

But despite, or perhaps because of, these limitations, the significance of the League as the occasion of cooperation and consultation between fifty or more national States, and of the work of the League (less obtrusive, maybe, than its political action) in the field of economic, health, and social questions was strongly impressed on one observer.

While not underrating the importance of the factors which have contributed to the political failures of the League,

it was impossible not to feel reassured by the evidence of closer application to the substance of peaceful cooperation and the necessities of a constructive peace policy, provided, for example, by the Reports of Inquiry into the questions of nutrition and access to raw materials, the remarks of the Economic Committee on the present phase of international economic relations, and the discussions which these and similar

documents provoked. My conviction is that peace sympathizers and workers in this country do disservice to the cause of peace if, on the one hand, being advocates of the full political action (notably as regards the restraint of "aggression") enjoined by the present Covenant, and perhaps overlooking the limitations imposed upon this action by present circumstances, they assume that the temporary inabilities of the League in this direction must needs render nugatory all the immensely valuable labour in the field of practical international collaboration.

Similarly, I believe that those do ill-service to the cause of peace who, on the other hand, rejecting as pacifists the full political obligations of the Covenant, allow this rejection to obscure the recognition of the constructive functions and services of the League system.

It should be a common obligation of all sections of the peace movement to see these constructive services in their right perspective and to find an opportunity of common action in is done regardless of what the natives think securing for them the necessary public attention and support.† They may yet prove the ultimate guarantee of peace.

* The Far Eastern Advisory Committee last week-end considered a short historical summary of the war, and on Tuesday a statement apparently based on this summary with a view to meeting China's request for action by the League. The latter document did not comply with China's demand that Japan should be declared an aggressor.

† The question of refugees, which parti-cularly needs watching now that the Nansen Office has definitely been liquidated, is to be considered on a resolution passed by the Assembly on Tuesday, by the Council.

(Concluded from page 7, column 1)

HOW the unemployed pay for rearmament is shown in this extract from the Daily Herald, September 25.

Our own Government, instead, has unbalanced the Budget gratuitously and is borrowing £80,000,000 a year for arms. The only fund abnormally piling up at present is the Unemployment Fund.

If we allow for its £5,000,000 a year repayment to the Treasury, the Fund is "saving" at the rate of nearly £25,000,000 a year. The Government prefers in fact to let off the super-tax payer by borrowing £80,000,000 for arms and at the same time to save on the unemployed.

For if N.D.C. and super-tax had been increased, unemployment benefits could have been raised and contributions reduced.

In this way, as a matter of fundamental policy, the unemployed are being forced to pay for rearmament. In addition to this, however, it is extremely probable that the actual money in the Unemployment Fund vas used to subscribe to the National Defence Bonds last April.

Non-Violence

THE following is from a recent issue of Harijan, the organ of the Untouchables, and is by Mr. Gandhi.

The corner-stone of Congress policy in 1920 was organized national non-violence. The British system is wooden, even satanic, but not so the men and women behind the system. Our non-violence, therefore, means that we are out to convert the administrators of that system, not to destroy them; conversion may or may not be willing. If, notwithstanding their desire to the contrary, they saw that their guns, everything they created for the consolidation of their authority, were useless because of our non-use of them, they could not do otherwise than bow to the inevitable and either retire from the scene or remain on our terms—that is, as friends to cooperate with us, not as rulers to impose their will on us.

Versailles

GENERAL HERTZOG'S recent strong denunciation of the Versailles Treaty, to which he traced the source of the present distrust in the world and the resulting arms race, was reported in the Daily Telegraph, September 29, as follows:

The war psychology of 1919, he asserted, persisted so strongly that in nearly every event of international importance in which victor confronted vanquished there was proof of its presence.

"A victor of 1919," he declared, "cannot rid himself of the delusion that the victory of 1919 gives him a kind of sacred right in 1937-and in the future-to demand obedient submission from the vanquished. . . . The natural result is that the vanquished persists in the same inexorable resistance and stubborn opposition with which he was inspired

"It is quite clear that unless there is a fundamental change in this mentality of European leaders the next European war will be the child of the Treaty of Versailles.

General Hertzog denounced collective security as an attempt to obtain peace by force or threats of force, whereas the League aimed at security through peace.

Commonwealth?

BUT the same general, on the same day, applied the same psychology to his fellow members of the British Commonwealth when he

Here, where the native lives in the domain of the whites, he must obey the laws of the whites. The Government must see that this of the law

LATE NEWS

Twenty-five people picketed all doors at Albert Hall anti-Japanese protest meeting, Tuesday, distributing 8,000 leaflets, carrying posters announcing next Tuesday's Queen's Hall anti-WAR protest. Dr. Sheppard was NOT in the meeting, though News Chronicle reported he was.

Archbishop's speech and officially-inspired Press suggests Government opposition to boycott unless universal. Roosevelt's "we'llfollow-Geneva" speech, Tuesday, is accordingly subject of diplomatic inquiries in

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October 9, 1937

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of your meetings, as follows: Date. Time. Place (in full). Particulars (speaker(s) and subject). Organizers (including address).

Owing to heavy pressure on space, only public meetings or meetings with special speakers (i.e. NOT regular, or branch meetings, unless addressed by an important public speaker) can be inserted in the "Diary of the Week."

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MEETINGS "SI VIS PACEM PARA PACEM" "LIBERTY AND FRATERNITY" "ACTA NON VERBA"

Addresses given on above subjects Sundays, 11 a.m., Lindsey Hall, Notting Hill Gate. All welcome.

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Ambergate 44. Station, Ambergate (L.M.S.)

by John Barclay; P.P.U.

14 (Thurs.) 1.10—2 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row, LONDON, E.C.4; Briars, Crich, near Matlock. Tel.:

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DIARY OF THE WEEK

October

0 (Sat.—Sun.) "The Briars," CRICH, near Matlock; weekend school; Leicester P.P.U.

10 (Sun.) 8 p.m. Chalmers Church, DUNDEE; Canon S. D. Morris at united peace service; Church of Scotland Peace Society, &c.

11 (Mon.) 5.30—7 p.m. and 8.30—10 p.m. New Burlington Galleries, 5 Burlington Gardens, LONDON, W.1; conference on "The Religious Judgment on the Present Economic System"; Society of Jews and Christians (see page five). 7.45 p.m. Parochial Hall, ACKLAM, Middlesbrough; disby C. W. Chester; P.P.U. p.m. Central Hall, COVENTRY; Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, Miss Mary Gamble, Reginald Sorensen, and Rev. H. Ingli James; P.P.U. 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Mercer Road, UPPER HOLLO-WAY; John Barclay on "Unity of Action" at meeting of Pacifist Societies.

Societies. 8.15 p.m. 38 Lamberhurst Road, WEST NORWOOD; inaugural meeting, West Norwood group,

12 (Tues.) 7.45 p.m. Morris Hall, Bellstone, SHREWSBURY; public meeting; Canon Stuart Morris and Wilfred Wellock on "Peace or Pieces?"; P.P.U.

8 p.m. Queen's Hall, Langham Place, LONDON, W.1; mass meeting; P.P.U. (See page 1.) 13 (Wed.) 7.30 p.m. City Hall, North-

umberland Road, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE; and 8.30 p.m. Albion Assembly Rooms, **NORTH SHIELDS**; Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, H. Runham

Brown, and Canon S. D. Morris; 8 p.m. Wild Court, KINGSWAY. W.C.2; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

8.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Central Square, GOLDERS GREEN; meeting to be addressed

Dr. Mary Day on "The Futility of Air Raid Precautions"; City P.P.U. group.

5.30 p.m. onward, 13 Paternoster Row, LONDON, E.C.4; Rev. E. N. Porter-Goff on "My Attitude to Pacifism"; tea obtainable; P.P.U.

p.m. Grove Hill Methodist Church,

C. W. Chester and Mr. Palmer on "Pacifism"; P.P.U.

8 p.m. Lecture Hall, Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, LONDON, W.C.2; lantern lecture on Australian aborigines by Dr. Charles Duguid; Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society.

Aborigines Protection Society.
(Fri.) 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 43 Charles Street, CARDIFF; Miss Edith Cullingworth on "War Resistance in Other Countries"; P.P.U. 7.45 p.m. Concert Hall, BLACK-HEATH; Lord Ponsonby, Canon Stuart Morris, and Miss Rose Macaulay (in the chair).

8 p.m. Hazelwood Lane Schools.

8 p.m. Hazelwood Lane Schools. PALMERS GREEN; public meeting; Reginald Sorensen, M.P., on "Pacifism and Politics"; P.P.U. 8 Ebbisham Hall, EPSOM; Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard and Capt. Philip Mumford at public meeting; P.P.U.

p.m. Friends Meeting House, LEICESTER; annual meeting, Leicester Christian Pacifist Fellowship.

8 p.m. Central Library Haus TOTTENHAM; R. C. Morrison, Central Library Hall, M.P., and L.N.U. speaker on "Air Raid Precautions"; Tottenham Peace Council.

(Sat.) 8 p.m. Forresters' Hall, Station Road, LEWES; Philippe Vernier at public meeting; F.o.R. 8 p.m. Labour Hall, WIMBLE-DON; annual meeting of Wimble-

don P.P.U. group.
-18 (Sat. p.m.—Mon. a.m.) Old
Jordans Hotel, JORDANS, Buckinghamshire; Canon C. E. Raven, Geoffrey le M. Mander, M.P., Dr. L. P. Jacks, &c., at conference on "The Problem of the Aggressor"; London Speakers' Group, L.N.U. (details from secretary, 43 Russell Square, W.C.1).

Pacifism and Christianity

An opportunity for the public to express their views on the Christian aspect of pacifism is to be offered shortly, according to a recent an nouncement in the Tottenham and Edmonton Herald, when the Rev. E. J. Keely-Wright opens a series of addresses on this subject on October

Subjects are: October 17, "What is pacifism?"; November 14, "Was Jesus a pacifist?"; January 9, "Church and State"; February 13, "The Church and MIDDLESBROUGH; its principles"; March 13, "Whither!

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